

Chapoy
Inda 1873

1873-1874

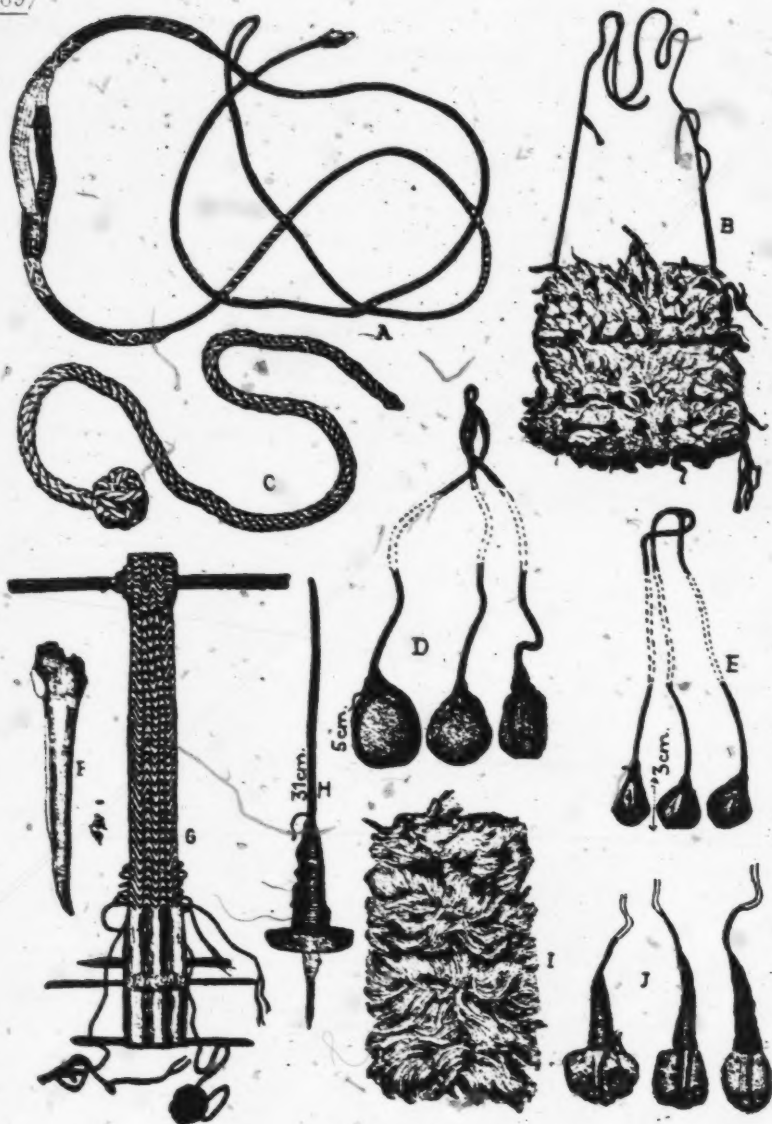
It all that was required, changing them greatly with the benefit which they would receive in satisfying everyone in his land of what they had and could make use of in their association, which today they do by the same system and have persons intelligent who understand this, and thus it is necessary in all the towns to have them make a map, and using the map of Cusco, then they will do it...." On the map of Chapoy of Cusco, on Chiriquito (Part 2), pp. 3-45.

remains of walls, temples, and ruins which spread out from Cusco into the distance toward the corners of the dominions in every direction. It is not surprising to find in Chapoy of arrangement similar to the former capital of the empire in miniature. The two villages were faithful reproductions of the arrangement of the great centers, i.e., properly speaking, towns and villages were not fundamentally distinguishable from each other.

It is not by chance that all the huts in Chapoy are oriented toward the rising sun. Here also the Chapoy are ancient religious traditions. This cardinal point exists, a fact, turning over the persons which the officiants and the crowd of faithful devotees during the pagan-Christian ceremonies. The victims offered to the deities have their thighs slit facing the east, it is also toward the east that the magician turns to make his prayers and offerings. The ancient words of the pre-Columbian populations on the sierras, the chiriquitos, always have their door on the eastern side, a fact which had been noted already in the sixteenth century by Cieza de Leon. The modern Indians explain this concern with orientation by a myth which is unfortunately too glibly to allow reconstruction of its primitive version. Aside from our chapel

Carangas -
Chipaya

/169/

411
←293
415
→411
←411
192
→286
←
283
←293
415
→411
→

/See captions on next page. /

/169 cont./

Fig. 4. -Čipaya material culture. Weapons and technology.

A: Čipaya sling.

B: Bag (kāls) covered with white, black, and red tufts forming a sort of velvet.C: Čipaya bola perdida.D-E: Pre-Columbian boias.F: Weaver's dagger (willa), of bone.G: Čipaya loom for weaving women's belts (tsai).H: Spindle with wooden weight /whorl/ (teri).I: Bag (kāls) made from the skin of a llama's neck.J: Weights of a modern Čipaya bola.

/191 cont. /

342
[54] Conquest it was perfectly natural that the chiefs should be the first to adopt it. In my opinion it would be a mistake to see in the round hut of the Chipaya a culture trait which is characteristic of this ethnic group and capable of furnishing a clue to their origin. The modern Chipaya have retained the round hut solely because it was more practical and the only type which they could erect easily and without too much expense on the wretched plain where they are cantoned. If in place of tola they had had some other tougher shrub, their picturesque hovels would have given way to the dull sheds of the Aymara long ago.

*191
342 /192/ The Uro Indians of Ancoaqui build their huts on the model of those of the Aymara. Up to recent times they must have had to retain the circular hut, for I noticed two or three houses in their village which, without exactly being round, had at least considerably rounded corners. The wretched abodes to be seen among the Uro have exactly the same form as those of the Chipaya and, consequently, the second type of huts, i.e., those which are dispersed in the pastures. In contrast to the Aymara or Chipaya, the Uro cover their huts with totora mats, which they fasten with wooden pegs stuck in the walls.

Facing Ancoaqui on the other bank of the Desaguadero I saw several huts of a type new to me, one which I think has not yet been described. These are cubes with thick walls covered with a masonry dome, a middle term between pyramid and cupola. These huts were grouped exactly like the estancias of the Chipaya. They were, moreover, as it seemed to me, the dwellings of shepherds who certainly had a house in the village. The huts on the Desaguadero recall chullpas much more than do the Chipaya huts which have been compared with these funerary buildings.

*191
● 192
342
764 Whoever has traveled by mule on the altiplano and ascertained the fabulous number of chullpas left by the pre-Columbian inhabitants must have asked himself what befell the actual habitations where the Indians who are incarcerated in these strange sepulchers lived. It

Carangas-
Chipaya
Modern Quechua SE24

/192 cont. /

*171
342
172
[764] seems inexplicable that precisely the funerary houses would have survived, whereas the houses themselves have disappeared without leaving a trace. How could it happen that a people capable of building such remarkable and lasting buildings as the chullpas would not have left a single village behind? Chipaya gives us the key to the problem: the ancient Aymara huts were undoubtedly made of clods, a perishable substance which time has made disappear down to the last vestige. Although the Chipaya have occupied their present habitat since remote times, one cannot find any ancient ruin among them. It is enough that a hut be abandoned for there to be nothing left of it at the end of a few years.

*171
342
113 One word more on the distribution of the round hut: this form was formerly much more widespread in the western part of South America than it is in our day. The Relaciones geográficas (1)

1. Xauxa Province, Vol. I, p. 89;
- Huámanga Province (San Juan de la Frontera), Vol. I, p. 97; Repartimiento /fief/ of Atunsora, Vol. I, p. 176;
- Collao, Vol. II, p. 62; Corregimiento /district/ of Otavalo (Equator), Vol. III, p. 116; District of Cuenca (Equator), Vol. III, pp. 164 and 176; Region of Quito, Vol. III, p. 94; Region of Chuquimayo, Vol. IV, p. LI; etc., etc.

makes allusions all the time to round houses in regions where they no longer exist.

*171
M
342 /193/ The Quichua Indians of Cochabamba in the middle of the last century still had round huts made entirely of earth and stone with dome-shaped roofing. One of them has been reproduced and described by Herndon and Gibbon (1): "The ancient habitations

Carangas-
Chipaya

/197 cont. /

f191
291 women caused the disappearance of the folded napkin with which up to a short time ago they covered their heads exactly as the present-day Chipaya women (3).

3. Montell, Dress and ornaments,
p. 232.

191
192 Even in cases where historical documents may have remained silent on this /198/ subject, archaeology brings us proof that Chipaya female clothing has remained, even in the smallest details, just as it was before the Conquest. /Figure 12 appears here. /

The excavations I made in the chullpas near Iscara some 20 kilometers from Chipaya gave me a large number of fabrics identical to those of the present-day Chipaya. The resemblance is such that the Indians themselves thought when they saw my collection that I was amusing myself by collecting rags they had thrown away. They did not hesitate once in identifying the clothing from which each fragment of archaeological fabric came by simply comparing it with their own material. A woman's belt (Fig. 12 /see p. 198/) which I extracted from one of these sepulchers is so completely similar in technique, design, and color to the belts in fashion today in Chipaya (Fig. 13 /see p. 198/) that I defy the most expert ethnographer to indicate the least difference between a modern specimen and an ancient one. Some fragments of urku which I was able to withdraw from the charnel houses which the chullpas are also bear witness themselves to the fact that the principal garment of Chipaya women has not varied since pre-Columbian days from the point of view of color as well as of the nature of the cloth. /Figure 13 appears here. /

f191
192
302 Are the picturesque little braids of the Chipaya women also a reminiscence of the past? The chullpas of Iscara and Huachacalla gave me a large number of female skulls to which the scalp still adhered. The disposition of the plaits and their number corresponded exactly to the fashion still in existence among our Indians. The small

Carangas -
Chipaya

/198 cont. /



Fig. 12. — Fragment of pre-Spanish belt found in a chullpa near Iscara (Carangas Province).

pendants depicting a female personage, or laurake, found in Tiahuanaco bring us proof /199/ that in remote ages of the Aymara civilization women already had their hair parted into an infinite number of small braids. This hair style was also that of the pre-Spanish populations in the Atacama Desert: Boman has in fact published the skull of a woman from Calama, which he describes in these terms: "The black, stiff hair is divided on top of the head and forms numerous plaits on each side, the ends of

which /Figure 14 appears here/ are tied with a woolen string. In each of these knots a strong cactus spine has been placed which serves as a hairpin. Certain Indians of the Bolivian Altiplano still arrange their hair in several plaits on each side, in the same manner as the ancient inhabitants of Calama."

The women of the Inkococahua (Espinar Province) clan in Peru have kept up to recent years the custom "of dressing the hair in the back and of dividing the hair into a group of small, thin plaits joined together by strings of cotton or woolen thread which end in fringes, which gives them the appearance of a thick material. /200/ This hair style is called sakoppe, without doubt



Fig. 13. — Detail of a belt worn by Chipaya women.

Carangas-
Chipaya

/200 cont. /

*171 because of the tripartite division of the hair on the skull (1).
302

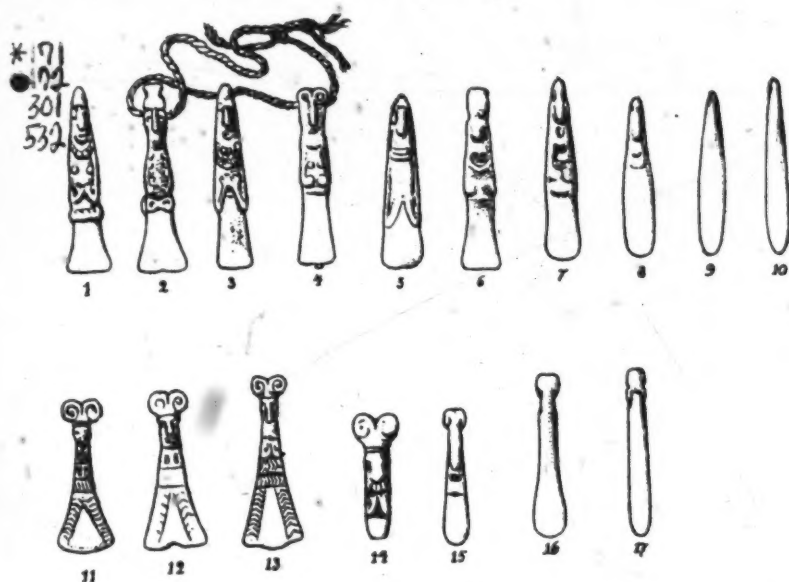


Fig. 14. — Evolution of the laurake from the original, entirely anthropomorphic prototype up to the modern, stylized forms. Each row represents a particular evolution. The laurake Nos. 8 to 10 and 15 to 17 are modern and come from Chipaya; the others were found in the excavations made in Tiahuanaco.

[113]

1. Alvarez (Angélica),
"Ankcocahua," Revista
Universitaria, Cuzco, 15th
year, No. 47, 1925, p. 18.

*171
301
2
Pendants identical to the Chipaya laurake have been found in great number on the shores of Lake Titicaca in the Tiahuanaco [i.e., a small pendant depicting a female personage -- Anahsi]

Carangas-
Chipaya

/200 cont./

*171 region. Most of the specimens coming from here are rather similar
 172 to those of the Čipaya but more perfect in their workmanship. The
 30 features and the costume of the female figure are more easily dis-
 [532] tinguishable, and one can even observe that the hair style is made
 up of small plaits. These strange figurines have long been an
 enigma to the archaeologists: their use was revealed the day the
 Čipaya were discovered. Taking as a point of departure two slight-
 ly different types of old laurake, I have endeavored to indicate
 their morphological evolution and progressive degeneration (Fig. 14
 /see p. 199/). Among the Čipaya the latter has been extended so
 far that in some cases small, simple metal plaques have been sub-
 stituted for real laurake.

*171 The Čipaya are the only Indians of the altiplano who have
 172 kept this archaic ornament. As they do not practice metallurgy I
 126 thought at first that the laurake worn by their wives were not only
 301 very old pieces but dated from pre-Columbian times. To verify
 305 this hypothesis I had a qualitative analysis made of two of these
 pendants and some examples coming from Tiahuanaco. The
 archaeological laurake are of copper alloyed with tin; one of the
 Čipaya specimens contains zinc as well. This composition is a cer-
 tain indication of its post-Columbian origin. Unless we assume that
 the Čipaya formerly practiced metallurgy, which is highly im-
 probable considering their habitat and way of life, we are forced to
 admit that they received these ornaments from the Aymara. But,
 as the use of these figurines must have disappeared very early among
 the latter Indians since no chronicler, not even Cobo, makes illusion
 to them, the Čipaya examples which were cast during the post-
 Columbian epoqe must be very old nonetheless and have been passed
 down in the same family for many centuries.

*171 The headband for the forehead, one last specimen of which
 301 I was able to obtain, was itself also an integral part of the ancient
 pre-Columbian costume. Among the Čipaya its wearing must have
 been reserved for festival days, for the manner in which the Čipaya
 women dress their hair renders this ornament useless; in contrast,

Carangas-
Chipaya

/201 cont. /

*171
412 Nitsche gives a drawing of an object from an excavation in the Jujuy puna which probably represents a hairbrush. The hairbrushes of the Choroti, the Ashluslay, and the Mataco are made from the hair of anteaters. The Tapiete Indians use brushes made either of hair or of roots. They are also rather frequently made with branches or roots. It is interesting to ascertain that Uhle has found some of these hairbrushes in the excavations of very ancient tombs in Arica. He has also discovered some in the excavations, still older, of Pisagua, while in the more recent beds which he attributes to the Tiahuanaco period he has come across combs. The hairbrush is evidently one of the oldest signs of civilization in South America; it is presently more widespread in the southern part of this continent."

I shall complete Nordenskiöld's list by adding the Quichua and Aymara Indians of the altiplano who use both the brush and comb. There is not one stall in Peru or Bolivia where one cannot acquire both of these objects. The Quichua name for brush is saxrama.

*171
301 The wig is a culture trait which, as archaeology reveals to
[172] us, has existed in Peru from remotest times. The Museum of
Göteborg has several specimens which come from the Peruvian coast. This false hair is arranged in small plaits and hang from a /202/ string exactly as does the hair in the modern wigs of the Chipaya. Aside from Peru the wig has been discovered among the Jivaro, who perhaps borrowed it from the Andean civilizations, from that of Nazca in particular, with which they have so many features in common. In North America the wig is also no rare culture trait. The Handbook of American Indians assigns the following distribution to it: Crow, Assiniboin, Mandan, Mohave, Yuma, and Pueblo (1).

[113]

1. Izikowitz (K. G.), "Une coiffure d'apparat d'Ica /A Festive Headdress from Ica/," Revista del Instituto de etnología de la Universidad nacional de Tucumán, Vol. II, entry 2a, 1932.

Chipaya

172
←

252
415
→



291

[534]
←

[524]
→



PLATE 120.—Chipaya country and Chipaya Indians. Top (left): Chullpa, or ancient burial tower. Top (right): Woman shelling with feet. Bottom (left): Dancer. Bottom (right): Playing a game. (Courtesy Alfred Métraux.)

[P. 582-H]

BOLIVIA

VISIT TO THE CHIPAYAS

Professors Jorge Ruiz and Augusto Roca have recently been living among the Chipayas of the village of Santa Ana, a little-known group of the Sabaya Canton of the Province of Carangas in the Department of Oruro, Bolivia. We quote them as follows:

"The Chipayas were corralled by the Aymara-Kolla into the lonely salt pits in the Southwestern part of the Plateau region. In spite of this fact they have retained a certain vigor and are far from being extinguished. Those who remain may be calculated at about a thousand individuals, who occupy an extension of territory very limited in proportion to the number of inhabitants. Like their brothers, the Uru, it appears that originally their way of life was essentially lake-dwelling, but when they were thrown into a region of deserts and salt marshes, which dried up with the passage of the geological epochs, they were converted into a pastoral and agricultural people who adjusted their way of life to an amazing degree to the adverse conditions of the territory in which they were obliged to live.

The few travelers who have been fortunate enough to arrive at the village of Santa Ana de Chipaya would agree that the impression it causes is that of a living *chullperia*.¹ The village is divided into two sections called *sayas* with circular houses scattered about in disorderly fashion, all doors facing the east. The only observable foreign element is a small church with a tower separate from the principal nave, which presents the same architectonic form as the tower of the church of Sabaya.

The first impression one receives of the inhabitants is that of the purity of their dress, which does not present any influence foreign to themselves; this is especially true among the women who for the most part wear their characteristic hair style composed of many small braids, but also of the men with the classic garment of the *ira*, a sleeveless shirt which reaches to the waist woven of wool in a striped design. This impression supposes little mixture with their Aymara neighbors, although

¹ *Chullpa*: Pre-Inca funereal monument of Peru and Bolivia.

[English text continues on p. 217]

teenth century. To reach them today, you travel by train 131
from La Paz to the city of Oruro, then by car or bus to
Curaguara de Carangas. From there you must walk over [33]
a desert worthy of Siberia to the left bank of the Lauca
River, where a canoe must be found for the crossing,
before you go on to the village.

Little is known of Chipaya history. It has been con- 174
jectured that they may be the descendants of one of the
first groups to reach the American continent. They call 173
themselves the descendants of the *chullpas*, the ancient
inhabitants of the area who, according to legend, hid
themselves in reed baskets when the sun appeared for the
first time.

The *chullpas* are still in the neighborhood, silent mum- 172 •
mies resting in the square sod houses they built long
ago. The word *chullpa* is also used for the burial houses.
The ghost villages of *chullpas*, their doorways invariably
facing east, can be seen by travelers today. Modern In-
dians avoid them with superstitious dread. It is claimed 178
that the Chipayas are feared by the stronger Aymaras be- 180

[Text continues on p. 20-B]

[p. 19-D]

ANTIQUITY AND SURVIVAL 1 (1955) no. 4

- 181 his *Historia y Moral de las Indias*, and this opinion is repeated by others. But I am under the impression that they are an unhappy race living during centuries among hostile populations, oppressed and ill-treated, finding consolation in their age-old traditions. They have nearly come to the end of their human cycle on the shores of the lake which, to them, is a holy site. Some strange belief forbids these fishermen to learn to swim, perhaps Titicaca claims from time to time a sacrifice to which they must freely consent.
- 121 Professor Vellard had arranged with KENNETH WASSON, the Director of Bolivia Films, to make a colour-documentary with some sound records on the Uru. He suggested that I might join them in the capacity of a photographer. Kenneth had his two assistants, JORGE ROJAS and AUGUSTO ROCA, and a young professor, RICHARD ARBELOT was also included in the expedition. As the length of time required to make the film was uncertain — the aptitude of the Uru for movie-work being an unknown quantity — we thought it wise to take some provisions. I suggested including a Primus stove, but the professor said we could heat our food on one of the village fires. The nights at nearly 14,000 ft. are apt to be extremely cold, so providing ourselves with sleeping bags, rugs and a quantity of photographic material, we set out early one sunny winter morning.
- 117 Our road led past the ruins of Tiahuanacu. The site is extensive and was an important Aymara religious and political centre. It remains one of the most interesting pre-Columbian monuments known in South America, but not by any means the oldest, the architectural remains and tombs of the coastal civilizations of Perú date from a far earlier period, and it is certain that the same applies to sites in Columbia. Naturally, the most extravagant theories are extant as to its origin, one of the most popular myths being that at the period of the mythical Atlantis it had been a seaport, Brazil and the Amazon being supposedly under the sea; but less romantic and

192 more reliable authorities have dated Tiahuanacu about the ninth century; thanks to the recent C34 investigations, we shall doubtless in the near future be able to obtain precise information on the subject. The site appears to date from two periods; the ponderous and primitive monoliths have little relation with the finely sculptured "Gate of the Sun".

- 192 It is conceivable that at the period of its construction
- 194 Tiahuanacu was considerably nearer the lake-side than at the present day, but in many cases lakes have been known to shrink in a remarkably short space of time. The lake of Guanacache in upper Argentina, now very small, was within living memory a large navigable extense of water. There is in the church of Tiahuanacu village an early colonial painting showing a boat skirting the edge of the lake beneath willow-trees, with a wooded background; at present there is not a tree in the landscape. It is possible that the climate of the region may have suffered certain modifications. "Practically nothing is known of the Aymara Empire, except that it extended over a considerable territory as far as Northern Argentina and down to Arica on the Peruvian coast. Certain place-names are of Aymara origin and their well-shaped, finely decorated vases are found in Ecuador and as far north as Central America. The conventional geometric style of decoration gives the impression of a people organized and disciplined, but the only important relic of the past is their language, very rich in technical terms, suitable for the expression of abstract ideas, clear and concise, a language which denotes a long evolution towards a high standard of civilization" ³⁾). When the Incas arrived with their Quechua followers from the region of Urubamba about the eleventh century, they conquered the country, but the Aymara population remained, retaining their language, their customs and their distinctive physique.

000 We stop for a moment at the village church which

[113] ³⁾ BAUDIN, LOUIS: *L'Empire Socialiste des Incas*. Paris, 1928.

[Text continues on p. 309-A]

[p. 304-B]

[132] 291
bitterly cold winters of the Bolivian plateau (second only in height to the Himalayan plateau of Tibet), and the cold nights even in summer at this altitude. The essential male costume, as we know the Uru, was the same as the pre-Columbian Chipaya *irs* (Aymará *safu*), a sleeveless, sack-like garment made of an untailored textile, sewed partway up the sides with openings for the arms, and partway across the top with an opening for the neck. This was woven of llama-yarn on simple bar looms held by stakes on the ground. (The Chipaya, like the Aymára, have foot-looms of a crude sort borrowed from the colonial Spaniards; so too have the Uru.)

294
286
[197] 291
[197] 291
[197] This garment was at one time the common garment for *altiplano* natives, but only the Chipaya and Uru have retained it. Although nowadays Uru men wear trousers (*makči*) of Aymára cut, slit at the heel (after the fashion of colonial Spanish trousers) and made of native homespun, children still wear this "camiseta" (Aymará *almiſa*), and Posnansky made a collection of these ancient garments for the Tiahuanacu Museum in La Paz. Nowadays a homemade shirt, *kulči*, and sometimes a crude vest, with leather sandals (but usually the feet are bare), a knit llama-wool *gorro* (Uru *ikara*) with ear-flaps in Aymára fashion, and sometimes a crude Aymára-made felted hat (Uru *iktara*), complete the male costume. The belt called *čari* is not always worn. Thick wool ponchos (*kutsi*) are also worn on occasion.

Uru women wear black llama-wool skirts (*akso*), girdled at the waist, and untailored bodices pinned at each shoulder at the top with a large copper or bronze Aymára pin. This tunic is called *urku*, but clothing in general is called *skiti*, "skin, hide"—which suggests an earlier, non-textile material. The feet are usually bare, but dark-brown or black wimples or shawls of llama-wool are worn when travelling, over the head in the Aymára fashion, but without the added hat on top. The dark color of the women's clothes in this whole southwestern region of Lake Titicaca is said to be because they are "mourning for the last Inca,"—which would not necessarily be so for the Uru! The ancient head-dress of many small braids, still rarely encountered, is called *čočo*. This fashion is pre-Columbian, to judge from mummies in the La Paz museum.

302
[192] 342
Houses. Although some of the habitations in Ancoaqui are of the Aymára rectangular style, the majority are round in ground-plan, built in horizontal courses of rectangular turfs (much as the ancient tombs or *ŭlpas* of Incasica times), the outside wall often being secondarily plastered with adobe-like mud. The door always faces east, and is closed at night by a thick bunch-element twined *tolora*-reed door. On the rectangular houses the roof is made of single-element *tolora*-reed mats, twined at the ends, and laid so that the reeds are parallel vertically, along the slope of the roof